

**ON THE CHAINS OF COMPETENCES: NEW CURRICULAR GUIDELINES FOR  
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION**

***NAS AMARRAS DAS COMPETÊNCIAS: NOVAS DIRETRIZES CURRICULARES  
PARA A EDUCAÇÃO PROFISSIONAL E TECNOLÓGICA***

***SOBRE LOS AMARRES DE COMPETENCIAS: NUEVAS DIRECTRICES CURRICULARES  
PARA LA EDUCACIÓN PROFESIONAL Y TECNOLÓGICA***



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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyses CNE/CP Resolution No. 1 of January 5, 2021, on the new National Curriculum Guidelines (DCN) for Vocational and Technological Education (EPT) in comparison to the standards it repealed, based on a documentary analysis obtained through electronic coding in qualitative analysis software, and subsequent analysis of the political content of the terms used, as well as the relationships established between them. The historical-dialectical materialist conception and the references of historical-critical pedagogy were taken as a basis and an expanded emphasis on professional competences was observed. We support the thesis that the new regulations are in line with several movements of capital in order to maintain its hegemony, with special attention to those directed at a more intense capture of the worker's subjectivity, and for which the need for an adaptation of the school apparatus is alleged.

**KEYWORDS:** Competences. Curricular guidelines. Vocational education. Neoliberalism and education. New High School.

**RESUMO:** Este artigo analisa a Resolução CNE/CP nº 1, de 05 de janeiro de 2021, sobre as novas Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais (DCN) para a Educação Profissional e Tecnológica (EPT) em comparação às normas por ela revogada, a partir de uma análise documental obtida através da codificação eletrônica em software de análise qualitativa, e posterior análise do conteúdo político dos termos utilizados, bem como as relações estabelecidas entre eles. Tomou-se como base a concepção materialista histórico-dialética e os referenciais da pedagogia histórico-crítica, e observou-se uma ênfase ampliada nas competências profissionais. Sustentamos a tese de que a nova normativa está em consonância com vários movimentos do capital visando à manutenção da sua hegemonia, com atenção especial àqueles direcionados a uma captura mais intensa da subjetividade do trabalhador, e para a qual alega-se a necessidade de uma adequação do aparato escolar.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Competências. Diretrizes curriculares. Educação profissional. Neoliberalismo e educação. Novo Ensino Médio.

**RESUMEN:** Este artículo analiza la Resolución CNE/CP nº 1, del 5 de enero de 2021, sobre las nuevas Directrices Curriculares Nacionales (DCN) para la Educación Profesional y Tecnológica (EPT) en comparación con las normas que derogó, a partir de un análisis documental obtenido mediante codificación electrónica en software de análisis cualitativo, y posterior análisis del contenido político de los términos utilizados, así como de las relaciones establecidas entre ellos. Se tomó como base la concepción materialista histórico-dialéctica y los referentes de la pedagogía histórico-crítica y se observó un énfasis ampliado en las competencias profesionales. Sostenemos la tesis de que las nuevas regulaciones están en consonancia con diversos movimientos del capital destinados a mantener su hegemonía, con especial atención a los dirigidos a una captura más intensa de la subjetividad del trabajador, y para los que se alega la necesidad de una adaptación del aparato escolar.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Competencias. Orientaciones curriculares. Formación profesional. Neoliberalismo y educación. Nueva Escuela Secundaria.

## Introduction

Crowning the process of neoliberal counter-reformation of the High School, which despite all previous discussions, both in parliament and in collective bodies and forums of national education, was carried out after the 2016 coup without further consideration of its consequences, the year 2021 saw the birth of another culmination within the dismantling and privatization of Brazilian education: the new National Curricular Guidelines (DCN) for EPT brought to light through the Resolution of the Full Council of the National Education Council, CNE/CP n°. 1, January 5, 2021 (Brazil, 2021a).

In order to better understand this process, this article makes a documentary analysis of the aforementioned CNE/CP Resolution n°. 1 in comparison with the two previous resolutions, Resolution CNE/CP n°. 3, of December 18, 2002 (Brazil, 2002), which dealt with Higher Technology Courses (CSTs), and the Resolution of the Basic Education Chamber of the National Education Council CNE/CEB no. 6, of September 20, 2012 (Brasil, 2012a), focused on Secondary Technical Professional Education (EPTNM). The objective is to understand the meaning of the terms used and their relationship with the movements of capital to maintain its hegemony, with special attention to those aimed at a more intense capture of the worker's subjectivity, since currently not only physical and cognitive skills are required of workers by the business community, but also behavioral and emotional patterns, which must be acquired from the school environment. The option for analyzing current legislation arises from the understanding that texts are the result of political constructions, and that the terms used indicate an orientation that is often implicit in what they say or fail to say (Shiroma; Campos; Garcia, 2005).

After reading the aforementioned regulations, they were coded using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas Ti, version 8. This program is one of several existing models for this task and was chosen because it is one of the most complete, alongside the Nvivo. Such software is used as an aid in analysis, enabling an enrichment of the investigation.

Subsequently, in an analysis outside the program, the context of use of each expression and its relationship with other terms were verified. In other words, analysis categories were created and, soon after, associations and contextualization were made. The aim was not to carry out a discourse analysis in the strict sense, but an analysis of the political content expressed in the terms found, exploring the internal contradictions, comparing the expressions with other legislation on the subject, observing the recurrent use of certain words, as well as the context

of production of regulations, as it is understood that there is a dialectical relationship between the social context and the constructed statements (Shiroma; Campos; Garcia, 2005).

The categories and associations highlighted are especially related to the guiding principles of the documents that revolve, above all, around competencies. Starting from a historical-dialectic materialist conception and taking as a basis the references of historical-critical pedagogy, we support the thesis that this new norm is in line with several movements of capital to maintain its hegemony, with special attention to those aimed at capturing more intense of the worker's subjectivity, and for which it is alleged the need to adapt the school apparatus, especially that focused on professional education, since these graduates are those who will have training more aimed at quick and direct insertion into the job market. All of this occurs within a framework of rights setbacks and the resurgence of neoliberalism in the country, as will be explained below.

It is understood that a school apparatus is an institutionalized educational system that provides the necessary knowledge to the workforce employed in the maintenance and expansion of capitalism, but also contributes to the internalization of a set of values that produces consensus, legitimizes the current bourgeois domination and discourages alternatives beyond capitalism (Mészáros, 2008). Although it has great importance, given its wide reach in society and the considerable time spent with it, it is one among several ideological state apparatuses that, even with its diversity and contradictions, contributes to the maintenance of the hegemony of the ruling class (Althusser, 1980).

The text is divided into five parts. After this introduction, the counter-reformation is presented of high school, the way it was conducted and its consequences, as well as the process of constructing the new resolution on Professional and Technological Education (EPT). Next, we move on to a comparative analysis between this document and the two pieces of legislation it repealed, taking as the axis of the examination the most evident term in its wording, which is competencies. The way in which the new resolution advocates the construction of a new worker is also analyzed. Finally, final remarks are presented.

## **The New High School, setbacks in Brazilian public education and the gestation of the new Resolution**

The process of discussing and creating new guidelines for public education is not something new in Brazil. There have been efforts to achieve this since the Constitution of 1988, through the Education Guidelines and Bases Law (LDB) in 1996, whose promulgation already occurred under the neoliberal aegis and within the framework of state counter-reform, which created deleterious effects for the consolidation of public policies, given its privatist and managerialist orientation of the public State apparatus (Gonçalves, *et al.* 2022).

As the authors demonstrate, when discussions about high school begin to take shape, a set of terms originating from the business world begin to be emphasized in schools, such as skills and entrepreneurship, based on the Human Capital Theory (TCH) and supported by international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) and the World Bank. According to them, with the rise of center-left governments in Brazil from 2003 onwards, several of these policies were extinguished or underwent changes.

However, the business community, through its foundations, retained this flexible teaching model and began to work in spaces that welcomed them, such as some Brazilian states or in some specific programs such as financial education. Gradually, the same foundations began, through the space given to them by governments, to influence the construction of public policies, as was the case with the Educational Development Plan (PDE) from 2008 to 2011. There is an alignment between the various business groups and the educational planning of the government at the time (Saviani, 2007), to the point that the PDE's goals were in line with those established by the Todos pela Educação movement (Martins; Krawczyk, 2018). All of this culminates in the first high school reform project, presented in 2013, and which was not taken to the plenary of the Chamber of Deputies for voting. There were intense debates between popular movements in defense of education, scientific associations such as the National Association of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Education (ANPEd) and the Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science (SBPC) and the business community and, finally, an archiving of the proposal, which will be resumed with several modifications after the parliamentary coup.

However, behind the scenes, the weight of business influence continued to be decisive. The Common National Curricular Base (BNCC) was the target of interest from several business

associations, with greater emphasis on the Lemann Foundation, linked to one of the largest national expressions of the financialized and internationalized bourgeoisie that we have recent news about: the leader Jorge Paulo Lemann. The foundation was a key player in the articulation of the Todos Pela Educação and Movimento pela Base movements, which exerted great influence on government bodies and the legal powers established with the aim of building an educational model in the image and likeness of capital. This process occurs amid the contingency of public funds and pressure from international organizations for business foundations to become protagonists in public education on a global scale. The biggest example came from the United States, where the Gates Foundation, linked to one of the mandarins in the world of information technology, Bill Gates, had already sponsored the American version of the BNCC, called *Common Core* (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020).

The Lemann Foundation was one of the main actors that continued neoliberal education projects, abandoned by center-left governments. Later, they began to get closer to the government with the tactic of transforming questions of political choices into merely technical issues that, supposedly, should be the responsibility of experts. The business seduction also included the participation of government members in a seminar in 2013, in the United States, on Brazilian education. Some of the participants will be precisely those responsible for drafting and implementing the high school counter-reform, including the new guidelines for EPT, already under the supervision of the coup government (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020).

In summary, the New High School (NEM) is an old proposal that dates back to the 1990s, and which throughout the first decade of the 21st century was debated and criticized, as is the case with worn-out skills and abilities. With the argument of making the curriculum more attractive and flexible, it ended up, in the end, adjusting it to market dictates and relegating the school, the teacher and their training to the background. Even though there is an argument for the protagonism of youth, the lightening of curricula and the focus on immediate and visible results produce a fragmentation in training and an individualization in the construction of training paths that ends up giving young people exclusive credit for their success or blame for their failure. Mentions of citizenship, autonomy, and other terms dear to a vision of political emancipation of the working class, do not mean that they assume a leading role, as they are emptied, subsumed and adapted to market purposes. In parallel, another flank is opened for the sale of pedagogical material and technological tools, while at the same time allowing parts of the training to be outsourced to other entities to complement the workload (Silva, 2018) (Koepsel; Garcia; Czernisz, 2020). A scenario of a new form of colonialism is constructed to

establish new subjectivities of a working class adapted to the growing informal labor market and, why not say, governed by digital work platforms and growing exploitation within the current historical moment of Brazilian peripheral capitalism. (Silva, 2019).

Within this context, on May 19, 2020, CNE/CP Opinion no. 7/2020 (Brasil, 2020a), on the new guidelines for EPT. It is worth noting that the responsible committee had the participation of a founder of a business education group, the director of the educational area of the National Confederation of Industry (CNI), and a former director of the National Confederation of Private Education Schools (COFENEN), among other participants. Of the total of six members, five were appointed by the then Minister of Education, Mendonça Filho, in July 2016, who also had as a priority the counter-reform of high school (Aquino, 2016). Michel Temer was the country's interim president, and his inauguration as effective president only occurred around 45 days after this event. As an addendum, it is known that the controversial Counter-Reform of High School was instituted by Provisional Measure in September 2016 (Brasil, 2016), thus overriding all previous debates, and transformed into law five months later (Brasil, 2017).

Ten days after the approval of the guidelines, the National Industrial Learning Service of Rio Grande do Norte (Senai/RN) issued a note praising the opinion (CNE, 2020), highlighting the performance of its president and the greater rapprochement between the productive sector and the school now provided, as well as the curricular flexibility allowed. It is worth noting that the CNE Full Council only published the approval of the opinion in the Official Gazette of the Union (DOU) in July of that year, that is, almost two months later (Brasil, 2020b), and it had to be revised due to issues related to essay. The new Opinion, under number 17/2020 (Brazil, 2020c), only had its approval published at the end of November of that year (Brazil, 2020d), in other words, the note from Senai points out the fine harmony that exists between the business community and the education project they have been carrying out in the country, as everything suggests that Senai was already preparing for the changes at least six months before.

Circulating through the bowels of the state bureaucracy at an unusual speed, the new opinion was approved on the first business day of 2021 (Brazil, 2021b), and two days later the guidelines had already been published (Brazil, 2021a).

### **Comparison of Resolutions. The new/old axis of skills to shape workers**

The new resolution revokes two others, no. 3, of December 18, 2002 (Brazil, 2002), which established the CST DCN, and no. 6, of September 20, 2012 (Brasil, 2012a), which dealt with EPTNM. In the first case, its publication occurs during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC), when the Minister of Education was Paulo Renato Souza and the not-so-subtle privatization of higher education began to grow exponentially. Given the pedagogical trend of the time, its central axis is professional skills, mentioned fourteen times in the document. Education should aim to acquire these skills, which should also be the basis for building the curriculum and a parameter for certifying knowledge acquired outside the school environment. All of this wrapped in the fetishized terms of entrepreneurship, flexibility, attitudes, values, interdisciplinarity, innovation (one mention each) or management (two mentions), which constitute the constellation around which professional skills will be operationalized.

When the Workers' Party (PT) government assumed the presidency in 2003, this ministerial team was moved to other states and there it will continue its projects with the support of private capital, returning when the parliamentary coup in complicity with the judiciary is effective from 2016. This fact translates into a difference in the way resolution no. 6 is constructed and in the terms that we find there. In 2012, when it was published, the presidency was held by Dilma Rousseff and Aloízio Mercadante was at the Ministry of Education (MEC). The extensive CNE/CEB Opinion n<sup>o</sup>. 11/2012 (Brasil, 2012b), which provided support for this Resolution, adopted a character of political emancipation of the working class and pointed to a vision of a democratic and egalitarian society. On the other hand, terms related to the pedagogy of skills were maintained, in a clear political dispute (Ciavatta; Ramos, 2012), (Ramos, 2016).

For better illustration, the table below presents the terms found in the new Resolution compared to the same terms used in the resolutions it repealed. This coding was done using the Atlas Ti software, version 8, and throughout the text the connections between the terms and the context in which they are inserted are presented.



**Table 1** – Specification and quantity of terms found in the analysis of resolutions.

Terms found	<i>CNE-CP Resolution no. 01 of 05-01-2021</i>	<i>Resolution no. 6 of 20-09-2012</i>	<i>Resolution no. 3 of 18-12-2002</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Socioproductive/cultural arrangements	0	2	0	2
Attitude	5	0	1	6
Student-centered	2	0	0	2
Competence and professional knowledge	0	1	0	1
Competence/personal/professional / is	0	1	0	1
Competence/skills	16	1	1	18
Professional skills	23	4	14	41
Creativity	1	0	0	1
Challenge/challenges	4	2	0	6
EAD/Distance Education	15	2	0	17
Emotions	5	0	0	5
Entrepreneurship	2	1	1	4
Employability	1	0	0	1
Companies	1	2	0	3
Strategy	9	1	0	10
Flexibility/flexibility, etc.	6	2	1	9
Management	3	4	2	9
Skill/s	7	3	1	11
Innovative/Innovation	5	1	1	7
Instructors	7	0	0	7
Interdisciplinarity	4	3	1	8
Training itineraries	10	14	0	24
Job market	3	0	1	4
World of work	15	6	2	23
Originality	1	0	0	1
Teacher/s	6	4	0	10
Protagonism	1	0	0	1
Productive sector	9	1	0	10
Socio-emotional	3	0	0	3
Value/Values	7	2	1	10
Totals	171	57	27	255

Source: Author's elaboration based on data collected in the Atlas Ti version 8 software.

It is clear from the expressions used that professional education should be based on work as an educational principle, in a construction that refers to the collective and the political, economic and social aspects of the different communities. The skills appear seven times in the

text, but associated with professional issues (four times), professional knowledge (once) and personal issues (once), and in isolation (once). However, there was a concern to permeate them with other terms, such as citizenship and social, economic and environmental demands. Likewise, the technological issue is linked to culture, the socio-historical context and socio-productive arrangements. The construction of the curriculum must be done in dialogue with ethical, aesthetic and political values, aiming for a democratic society. To counterbalance the only mention of entrepreneurship, cooperativism is mentioned, and the National Catalog of Technical Courses (CNCT) should also be built collectively between different actors with national representation.

It appears that the training itineraries appear fourteen times in the text, but the understanding here is about the organization of the stages of professional education within the various technological axes around which the courses are structured, expressed in the CNCT. The objective was to construct variable itineraries within a given technological axis, according to the possibilities of the educational institution, the scientific and technological foundations of the axis, as well as its articulation with the world of work. There is no mention of student-centered teaching, creativity, emotions and employability.

But these two standards were revoked by the new CNE/CP Resolution nº. 1. A more superficial reading leads one to believe that the changes were not that significant, since terms dear to a vision of political emancipation of the working class were maintained, such as, for example, work as an educational principle, respect and acceptance of diversity ethnic-racial, gender and cultural, as well as people deprived of liberty or with special needs. And it's not just in appearance. Several excerpts from the old 2012 Resolution are the same, especially those that deal with conceptual terms and principles. However, it is possible to see that such expressions are just a digression to the heart of the text: an update of TCH that takes flexibility as a central point for curricular construction, a central paradigm of financialized capitalism, Toyotist production and new forms of precariousness work on digital platforms.

The key term found is professional skills, mentioned 23 times, alongside skills, without association with another word, which appears 16 times. A transposition of the terms found in Resolution no. 3 of December 18, 2002, which dealt with CST, where the expression appears fourteen times. It is the recovery of the dusty discourse on skills from the 1990s, already widely criticized in academia (Silva, 2018). However, these are ideologues from the period in question, who, after being passed over from federal deliberative bodies in the early 2000s, returned with

the 2016 coup to try to continue their project. And apparently not even the guiding principle of his speeches changed. Professional skills are defined as follows in § 3 of Article 7:

The personal ability to mobilize, articulate, integrate and put into action knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and emotions that allow you to respond intentionally with sufficient intellectual autonomy and critical awareness to the challenges of the world of work (Brazil, 2021a, p. 20, our translation).

There was no concern about defining them in 2012, as they were not the guiding axis of the regulations for Professional Education. However, now, the definition begins by showing its link with TCH. It is a personal capacity, that is, very dear to the individualism present in the ideology of Human Capital, which saw students as atomized consumers of educational products that would enhance their visibility in the competition for better jobs, thus receiving the due reward for the investment made in that product. On the other hand, such an individual performs an act that would be close to a performance, in the sense of playing a role, as the verbs that define the competencies, mobilize, articulate and integrate, refer to a mental exercise and are made visible through actions that will respond to the challenges.

Although it is pointed out that such challenges are present in the world of work, this sphere refers to the struggles of the working class for dignity and better living conditions, which are historically constructed and permeated by contradictions. This presupposes collective constructions and constant political struggle. It is something very different from an individual performance that will bring momentary solutions to specific problems.

In truth, the world of work here, as well as critical consciousness, works as a way of hiding companies and the bourgeoisie that runs them. This can be seen by what this type of mental exercise requires to solve so-called challenges. These are knowledge and skills learned throughout school career and life, but what is most frightening is that the core of the individual must come into play: attitudes, values and emotions. And all of this should not be part of the individual's intimacy. There must be an explicit intention to manifest it in the form of problem solving. Another contribution to the influence of the business world on the education of the working class is found in § 1 of Section 1 of Article 15. It says that “technical courses must develop professional skills at a tactical level” (Brasil, 2021a, p. 20, our translation). There is no explanation as to what the term tactical means in this context, but it has a sense of order, and a relationship with troop arrangements in the military. As several business management terms come from this environment, there is scope for thinking about skills also as the development of

a predisposition to the battles of intercapitalist competition, which will be assumed equally by workers.

And so, follows a game of words that twists some meanings and uses some politically consecrated expressions to introduce other terms more related to the flexibility of the curriculum. In Section IV of Article 3, which deals with the principles of EPT, work continues to be an educational principle, but if in the revoked resolution it should be integrated with culture, technology and science to build a political-pedagogical proposal, now he aims to organize the curriculum that will build professional skills. Another example is people in foster care, hospitalization or deprived of liberty who previously should have been recognized in their diversity, and have courses developed to meet their specificities, but who must now be welcomed so that they can develop professional skills.

In other cases, it all came down to professional skills. As an example, in 2012 the identity of graduates should pay attention to “knowledge, skills and professional knowledge” (Brasil, 2012b, p. 59, our translation). In Section XVI of Article 3 of the 2021 Resolution, which deals with the same topic, knowledge and knowledge disappear, and only professional skills remain. In Section V of Article 24, we find that, in course plans, the professional profile must explain the professional skills that the graduate will have acquired, together with the knowledge that composes them. Likewise, Section VI of Article 25 says that Pedagogical Course Projects (PPC) must contain criteria for recognizing previous professional skills, something that did not exist before.

But there are other subtleties. In the 2012 Resolution, teacher training should be carried out in undergraduate courses. Now, instructors have been added to teachers (seven mentions), and tutors jump from one mention to two, always related to Distance Education. But according to Article 58 of the 2021 Resolution, secondary and higher education instructors will be able to work in professional qualification courses or as teaching assistants in technical courses, and their definition is related to the technical and technological skills acquired. Furthermore, when it comes to teacher training, the possibility opens up for professionals with 'notorious knowledge' to have their professional skills recognized and, as a result, begin to work as teachers. There is a clear process of disqualification from teaching work, since even a graduate can be called an instructor, and another, through so-called 'notorious knowledge', can be elevated to the category of professor. It is another aspect of the flexibility that characterizes the set of legislations that guide the counter-reform of high school, providing room for tutors and instructors to take on teaching roles and receive lower remuneration for their work.

Furthermore, as seen in Item III of § 2 of Article 53, the recognition of skills of teachers with a minimum of five years of experience in EPT being equated to a Bachelor's degree course, may mean yet another disincentive to enroll in this type of course in Universities.

When analyzing the other mentions of skills (sixteen), other flexible plots emerge. The training itineraries are also the responsibility of the student, who can put together their own puzzle of isolated courses and skills certifications throughout their school life. This would not be a problem from this new perspective, as in Article 7 it can be inferred that the objective of the entire school system is the development of skills:

Professional and Technological Education courses are based on technological axes and their respective technological areas, when identified, enabling the construction of flexible, diversified and updated training itineraries, according to the interests of the subjects, according to the relevance to the local context and the real possibilities of public and private educational institutions and networks, aiming to develop skills for the exercise of citizenship and specific skills for competent professional practice, from the perspective of sustainable development (Brazil, 2021a, p. 20, our translation).

Everything converges on the omnipresent skills that can be exercised both in the worker's work and in social aspects, such as citizenship and environmental issues. Given this situation, it is possible to see how school continues to be necessary for the reproduction of the workforce, not only because of the skills necessary to work in the production process, but also because of the introduction of behavioral patterns and submission to the dominant bourgeois ideology (Althusser, 1980). On the other hand, this process does not occur without contestation, as the contradictions existing in society are also reflected in this space, since this ideology needs to take on a new re-elaboration depending on the spaces where it will be disseminated, such as the school environment and the curricula that are adopted there. The aim is to produce consensus that aims to guarantee social control (Apple, 2001, 2008). It appears that such ideological re-elaboration, expressed in the political articulation and construction of guidelines for the EPT, aims to maintain hegemony understood as “an organized set of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions that are lived.” (Apple, 2008, p. 39, our translation).

However, if historically the dominance of capital and the struggles of the working class for an education that leads to the questioning of existing structures are a constant, what new element do we have in the face of this change in guidelines? On the one hand, productive restructuring is notorious with the relocation of factories, outsourcing, changes in labor legislation and other factors associated with the neoliberal rise and the Toyotist organization of

production and work, in addition to growing structural and technological unemployment. But, on the other hand, what is seen in the construction of this new resolution is the normative force that appears from the conception of a new worker. These are emotions and a specific type of behavior that is required from the school environment. It is the bourgeois consensus based on neoliberal ideology that now aims to build identities, values, experiences and meanings for the working class as a whole around concepts such as entrepreneurship, innovation, flexibility, etc., based on an individualism that shatters collective conceptions of society and resistance to bourgeois advancement. In yet another layer of understanding, it masks the real situation in the world of work, where precariousness becomes the keynote and for which struggles are necessary to try to stop its progress. In essence, what we want are docile, poorly paid, flexible workers who do not question and who reproduce the ideals of the bourgeoisie as if they were typical of the working class.

### Modeling the new worker

It is within this situation that competencies weave another insidious articulation in the new resolution. In the spirit proclaimed by the new BNCC, EPTNM courses, in integrated and concomitant forms, must also promote the formation of socio-emotional skills, as defined in § 2 of Section 10 of Article 20:

Socio-emotional skills as an integral part of the skills required by the final professional profile can be understood as a set of strategies or actions that enhance not only self-knowledge, but also effective communication and interpersonal relationships, and among these strategies the most notable are: assertiveness, emotional regulation and problem solving, constituting skills that promote the optimization of the interaction that the individual establishes with others or with the environment in general (Brazil, 2021a, p. 21, our translation).

The definition of the term begins with the use of a word equally originating from the military and business circles: strategy, an activity more typical of generals who plotted paths or ways to win a battle or war. To do this, the individual must highlight some characteristics very close to the lexicon that lies on the border between the so-called Positive Psychology, self-help and training provided by *coaching*: self-knowledge, effective communication, interpersonal relationships, assertiveness, emotional regulation and problem solving. These are the so-called *soft skills* or behavioral skills that large conglomerates require when selecting their workers and require to maintain their employment. Even the way of linking such attributes is related to a

nomenclature widely used in business platitudes: optimizing, that is, giving the best possible performance.

If the new resolution is analyzed based on such expressions, one has the impression that, in addition to the boring Pedagogy of Competences, another source of inspiration was some corporate human resources management manual, or to become more connected with the verbiage of capital, people management or employee management. Since school, students must already incorporate a set of behaviors that will supposedly be valued when they sell their workforce. It is no coincidence that EPTNM must provide students with fundamentals on “people management”. He must also develop skills, attitudes, values and emotions, which are mentioned together five times in the document. Responses to challenges must be original and creative. These, in turn, are dispersed in the “world of work”, in “citizen and professional life”, in the “development of permanent learning” and daily “in professional and personal life, as a working citizen” (Brasil, 2021a, p. 20-23, our translation). Moving towards undergraduate and postgraduate technological education, it is assumed that students will be more prepared for this, as they will learn about 'strategic process management'.

Likewise, the school must be attentive to encouraging “innovation in all its aspects” (Brasil, 2021a, p. 20, our translation), as it will be linked to the development of its “entrepreneurial capacity”. Given that education must be student-centered, the student must be the protagonist of the acclaimed innovation. Without forgetting that the educational methodologies used by the school must be innovative, and innovation must be part of the curriculum which, obviously, within this universe, must be flexible and interdisciplinary, as this mix is a guarantee of the Holy Grail of employability.

As flexible (and precarious) the world of work is, the school that will shape the worker adapted to this situation follows the same path. In addition to strategies for socio-emotional skills, strategies are needed to teach, to learn, to make flexibility and promote interdisciplinarity and contextualization, strategies among providers of professional education to promote employability and strategies to operationalize the curriculum both in person and online. In turn, this type of education is mentioned fifteen times in the resolution and therein lies the way in which the new fragmented, fragile, operational and individualized professional education can expand, counting on the support of several instructors who, most likely, will have precarious employment relationships and poor training.

Obviously, it would be very explicit to say that all of this aims to serve the interests of capital or its phenomenal manifestation, which are companies. That's why they are only

mentioned once, when it says in Section VI of Article 8 that, in the planning and organization of courses, there must be a rapprochement between companies and the educational institution. Note that this relationship is established by the school, when building its curriculum, as if a large part of the construction of the new resolution had not been the work of them and their organic intellectuals. To disguise this direct interference by capital, a euphemism is used: productive sector (nine mentions), which in the 2012 resolution was mentioned only once, but now a more explicit relationship and pressure is forged. Section I of Article 3 cites as the first principle of EPT the “articulation with the productive sector for the coherent construction of training itineraries, with a view to preparing them for the exercise of technical and technological operational professions, with a view to the labor insertion of students” (Brazil, 2021a, p. 19). In other words, although it is said that the leading role belongs to the student who is supposedly free to build his/her training itinerary, the final say belongs to capital, as it is capital that will or will not welcome this graduate into the job market. Likewise, technology is not the result of human work and its application to improve the quality of life of people is not envisaged. In Section VII of the same article, it must be used “to perform different functions in the productive sector” (Brasil, 2021a, p. 19). It follows that it is one of the main actors behind the construction of the Brazilian Catalog of Occupations (CBO), which is coordinated with the CNCT and serves as a reference for the preparation and modification of school curricula.

In the game of mirrors that the new resolution creates, there is confusion between the terms labor market (three mentions) and world of work (fifteen mentions). In the previous resolution, the first expression did not exist, and the second was cited only six times. Now, from § 2 of Articles 12 and 15 and Section II of Article 24, it is understood that the market is the entity that explains the needs for professionalization and recognizes the possible intermediate options for courses, called professional qualification, and that will be expressed in the CBO. It is ironic that in Article 29, the same professional qualifications that will guide the curriculum of Higher Technology Courses do not originate in the job market, but in the world of work. Similarly, in § 2 of Article 49, diplomas issued by such qualification courses enable their holders to exercise their professions in the world of work. In other words, the market requires certain qualifications, but it is not the market that will absorb them, it is the world of work.

This, in turn, is not associated with the working class or its representatives, whether in the form of unions or social movements, nor with their struggles, since none of the three terms are mentioned in the standard. At times, as stated in § 4 of Article 7, the National Education Council (CNE) may call on various representatives of society to define technological axes,



which include “representative segments of society and the world of work” (Brazil, 2021a, p. 20, our translation). This little-explicit world can also have its demands met in course planning.

When looking for associations made with the world of work, it is observed that (1) the approach to companies aims to create associated learning, (2) that initial and continued training must train workers in instrumental practices also linked to it, (3) that behavioral skills are also associated with citizenship in the world of work, (4) that it is articulated with the productive sector and technologies to define demands for professionalization and construction of the aforementioned itineraries, (5) that it is the space for applying the fruits of so-called innovation and (6) that it is also called a partner for internship programs. Similarly, one of the hallmarks of teacher training is that the knowledge taught is associated with the world of work.

What can be inferred is that in the resolution it is a term that is versatile enough to indicate a possibility of approaching sectors critical of this regulation, as well as masking other expressions that, if used, could cause greater indignation or questioning. But when compared to the job market, there is a marked difference. It is active, to the point of making its desires clear and having its demands met by the school system. The other is passive. It is always shown to be associated with companies, instrumental practices, technology, innovation, internships and teacher training, and its demands are for qualification, where it is always associated with some other more relevant actor. This entire construction is viscerally linked to the ideology of the ruling class in its neoliberal phase.

There is a saturation of bourgeois hegemony that even permeates common sense, being incorporated into people's experience. The expressions used in the new resolution are not alien to what other private apparatuses of hegemony disclose, but are now formally incorporated into this other apparatus of great importance, which is the school system. A set is then formed that disseminates, affirms and praises the entire range of values dear to the bourgeoisie and which gradually become part of the common sense of the working class (Apple, 2001, 2008).

Alongside the economic subordination to which individuals are subjected, a psychic and social subordination is constructed, as the company becomes a space of belonging and coexistence, which presupposes the construction of an identity. Between the lines, they must see themselves as capital in search of appreciation and profitability, otherwise the destination is dismissal. Unlike Taylorism, which aimed to control bodies to make them productive, what is required now is a continuous involvement of all physical and psychic energies, a constant appeal to desire, a permanent disposition to create itself a new productive force that does not recognize temporal and spatial boundaries. We work all the time, everywhere, and this is not

seen as a form of psychic violence, as the idea that great efforts will result in recognition and success has become introjected (Gaulejac, 2007).

From another perspective, there is a process of reviving the flame of individualism, in which work becomes increasingly related to personal projects, creativity and the indefectible entrepreneurship, and education is associated with skills and talents developed individually. These and several other aspects of existence, such as health, love, identity and progress undergo a mutation that obscures the social and political to the detriment of the psychological factor, almost always associated with a notion of happiness presented as a continuous form of self-improvement. A new standard of subjectivity is modeled, in which terms such as self-management, autonomy, emotional intelligence, self-control, creativity, etc. are thrown center stage. Faced with this situation, education is called upon again to forge individuals resigned to their subalternity. It is about obliterating critical thinking, reasoning, manual skills and the search for knowledge in favor of emotional development, in which managerial capabilities play a central role, and the emotional state has a greater weight than intellectual capacity (Cabanas; Illouz, 2002).

### **Final remarks**

Throughout the text, we were able to observe that the bourgeoisie waged another clash against the working class, seeking to define more clearly what type of professional education it seeks for the exploited part of society. With neoliberalism, the contradictions intrinsic to the functioning of the capitalist machine became more accentuated, but the deadly impetus to increase accumulation and perpetuate its hegemony has not ceased, despite the cyclical and destructive crises that this entire process causes. Based on the above, there is an increase in the sophistication of workforce control processes. What is required is a subjectivity completely abducted by a sick and psychotic individualism, expressed in the form of companies, with all the lexicon, identities, values and sensibilities that it represents, especially meritocracy and competition. We aim for a happy and constant disposition that works day in and day out and obscures criticism, questioning and any collective construction that allows individuals to see their humanity and space for struggles.

It is through this progress that we see how these new guidelines are in tune with the current movements of capital to maintain its hegemony, with special attention to those aimed at a more intense capture of the worker's subjectivity, and for which it is alleged the need to adapt

the school apparatus, especially that aimed at professional education, as these graduates are those who will have training more aimed at quick and direct insertion into the job market. The process must begin at school, aiming to organize experiences and produce meanings that will be translated into actions that will colonize the imagination of the working class since its formation. However, there was no originality in the proposal, as the worn-out skills pedagogy appears to have been merged with some business management manual to produce the new resolution.

Thus, this model of ideal student and worker is suspended in the air, as the historical and cultural processes that led us to our current situation do not form a central axis to reflect on the past and collectively project a future. The slave past, the social, class, gender and racial inequalities that constituted this country are still present, in addition to the growing mutations in the world of work, and it is on these bases, associated with the constant political struggle, that another formation for the working class must be built.

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